1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6



Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch. 552* 769

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common. 496 552* 602 [578] [622] [581]

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief. 556* 787

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the second society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents. 556*

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6



bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzâmâ'mxtsem* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzâmâ'mxtsem* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xlâ'xtsem* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzâmâ'mxtsem*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth.

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual.

1;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6



* 539 424 brothers have the right, moreover, to hunt and collect food in the places used by these first ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

*Ăwwulxpămus:* the mountain where they first came to earth.

*Okkomăy:* a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where *Omqomkilkle* was accustomed to hunt.

*Tsulpă-kul:* a valley where *Smaeaux*'s wives used to pick berries.

*Iyuuk:* a level tract of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. No people landed here and *Smaeaux* pre-empted it as a hunting-ground.

*Nulpa-kul:* another valley where *Smaeaux*'s wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught olachen.

538 115 The length and wealth of detail embodied in this myth raises the question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and related by a man eager to glorify the traditions of his own ancestors. It was received from Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from *Smaeaux*, and himself the user of this name, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more potlatches than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the deaths of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of this legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this respect it, therefore, represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically, every myth would be complete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the aim of every wise Bella Coola is to seek the return of these pieces by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the assistance of his wife, herself a descendant of *Smaeaux*. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent dwindling of population, it is unlikely that any one person would have the duly validated right to tell a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to his fellows as this man is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

[424] [581]

### ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuxwĭlt*[29]

* 539 Among the first people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, *Hamet*, *Wattlu*, *Ilkwa*, and *Ăhaklis*, who came as eagles and settled in *Nuxwĭlt*, the site of the present Masitow Cannery, Kimsquit. Before

[29] Related by Jim Pollard.

1:McGowath E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEG Dollacosta NEG



the most human of all endeavors, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defense against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

## Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Men provide fish and game, build houses and canoes, while women collect berries, make baskets, cooks, and perform the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

### CHOICE OF MATE

Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the concerns govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint. Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to events among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

of the sons is very different from in the society the mothers follow.

Having discussed those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the extended family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related women stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close to the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each extended family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are connected to marriage, it follows that a meeting within to make it desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more property than the wife on the wedding and that his relatives are more likely to be generous when they are in love to one in whom they are related. Indeed, some extended families are so "clingy," (to use the Dobu Cards expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of two cousins to marry, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of two cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister to enhance or preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be known. So long as the love against incest are observed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as cousin (§, p. 123) is a fit partner. Since extended families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the preferences are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

[illegible] Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the material advantages of each of these. Since the ability of a man to give patrilocal depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's immediate family, wise parents choose a girl whose brothers are rich. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have prized social decora, or other valuable rights. Personal wishes are not an important, because they are the personal property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. She family gave me many presents."

Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be named "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a widow was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding rites the woman's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives. It is proper that the latter should be returned to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds the families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

as possible, though one now is considered highly desirable. The sentiment is thus clearly described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common economy, the greater will be their children's commercial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since future marriages are not required.

In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially "correct," with some Villa Cola families to seek wives from established commercial families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Pedro*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought to bear by his wives and considered that such rights, transmissible to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by shared ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some commercial families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Rose (p. 164) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her or our unborn children.

Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have a right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable wood prerogatives, a third some fishing rights. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. Ina once had heard of the French system of dot, and emphasizes strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than to Canadian practice. In recent years the younger Villa Cola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older are learning bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the economy of their

S.W. Dorsey B-5 (1911-1924)948
NBS Bellevue NEB



future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of about the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the women chosen for wife must have been concealed for at least a year following puberty. Nor is a weakly girl chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to gainsay their wishes. A girl who has been leading a notoriously lax life is not desired, though this is most unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sin as such.

Realising the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative value of girls whom they think they could choose for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval.

### PROCEDURE OF BETROTHAL

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to name X) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they next choose an intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, and especially their own parents if alive. Sometimes X's father himself interviews the father of the girl (here termed Y), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes to Y's father's house, and quietly tells his parents that X's family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unceremoniously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdraws after giving his message. In all probability Y's family have already re-

S74 ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practise she exercises a great deal of influence. The mother and father weigh the suitor's eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ceremonial possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number S73 of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are S74 termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If Y's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If S72 Y's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, pri- S74 vately invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. S75 The singers, in their usual sections behind the fire, strike up S76 the tune of some burial and the owner of the song, thus warned,

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible] if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

[illegible] Since the conference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts on the base of the connection. If the contracting parties are members of different unrelated families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield, on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the unrelated families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Future marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the midst of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names are unreasonably apt to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate when denial be done. If the

name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] THE MOLLA CHELA DIVISION

[illegible] son of his family relatives were murdered at Kirmanjit. The dispute was never discussed, but most of the Molla Chela believe that it was done by one of Hussain's relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

[illegible] It is logical that there are numerous rift cases to emphasize why the Molla Chela prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this other plan comes are usually given outsights, and are usually promised for the use of the future children.

[illegible] = [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible]

[illegible] After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y. The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have surrounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the unborn children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the ceremony. Camels, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "total covering" for X. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her father asks a Banni chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my best covering."

These presents are the binding factors of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another woman now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

McDermott B-5 (1922-1924)/948
NEA Bellacoola MSS



due honor that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[1]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

[1] The hand used in this creation was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

U.S.C. Seventh R-1 (1911-1914)1948
NEX Bellevue NEX



blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "sold."

Commercial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics, namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

### SEXUO-EROTIC RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse to be one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but the moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desire, it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, one favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young ceremonial man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will.

In the present case there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the cases of others in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the elder men.

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admire, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worse of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to choke any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They see the white man's power, they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola home is an anachronism, with several similar articles and the old picture has do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the reversal alone but not the coherence, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

[192]
[778]
[777]
[825]
[801]
[825]
[491]
[825]
[579]
[854]
[871]
[795]

[illegible]: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.
[illegible], wrestler, [illegible], [verb], [illegible]: Cook.
gaze: Raven.
gaze: Big old male mountain goat.
[illegible]: Raven's sons living in the last century.
[illegible]: Cedarwood Wrapped chief.
[illegible] spouse: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Fourth eldest, or youngest, brother or sister.
[illegible] [illegible]: Soldier's [illegible].
[illegible]: Klemgeit woman.
[illegible]: Weasel's [illegible] hair.
[illegible]: Sea-lion rock.
[illegible]: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.
[illegible]: Feather name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible] [illegible]: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.
[illegible]: Traveling mat.
[illegible]: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.
[illegible]: Klemgeit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with [illegible].
[illegible]: Original name of a Klemgeit man.
[illegible]: Bella Bella village west of Namu.
[illegible]: Hot Springs on Lillooet River (Upper).
[illegible]: Professional female marriage dancer who came down to Klemgeit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
[illegible]: "Place of Herring": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Impression, in the snow of the mouth of a feather dancer's guest of thought.
[illegible]: Village west of Klemgeit, settled in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Actual goods used for the expenditure of a wife.
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Klemgeit chief.
[illegible]: Cook.
[illegible] [illegible]: Feather name of a Bella Coola woman.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The wife and rightful sweetheart engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concept of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.
[illegible]: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, therefore, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

9

[illegible]: 1—Skeleton.
2—Klemgeit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible] [illegible]: Feather name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible] [illegible]: The common blinking of the eyes.

## APPENDIX D



192*

[824]

[381] [825]

[778]

[824] [821]

[825] [831] [825]

[824] [825]

[316] [105]*

[824]

[825]